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Theorizing Globalization and Minorities in Asian Cities: Viewed from the Language Contact Zone of Thailand in the Making of Languages and Minorities

Hugo Yu-Hsiu Lee

Graduate School of Language and Communication, National Institute of Development Administration,
118 Moo 3, Seree Thai Road, Klong-Chan, Bangkok, 10240, Thailand

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Corresponding Author:

Hugo Yu-Hsiu Lee,
Graduate School of Language and
Communication,
National Institute of Development
Administration,
118 Moo 3, Seree Thai Road,
Klong-Chan, Bangkok,
Bangkok, 10240, Thailand

ABSTRACT

In this study, I draw on academic literature, survey data, interviews and observations over a four-year period (2010-2014) to explore language contact and language use in Thailand. This study is conceptual in that it attempts to reconsider language contact by proposing an integrated model that takes into consideration the joint effects of concurrent trends on minorities. It is not a definite account but a modest endeavor to offer a state-of-the-art description of language contact and language use in Thailand. Yet this study also hypothesizes the globalization of English, the regionalization of Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese and Korean languages, the nationalism inherent in the use of Standard Thai and the localization of speech communities and language-user groups in Thailand.

Key words: Globalization of English, regionalization of Chinese, Thai nationalism, language contact, language use, Thailand

INTRODUCTION

This present study aims to provide an analysis of how languages have come into contact and have been used in the light of recent changes and ongoing trends brought about conjointly by the effects of globalization, regionalization, nationalism, urbanization, localization and separatism. Even though other major Thai urban centers are taken into account, the analysis offered here of the relevant research literature and empirical documentation focuses on language contact and language use in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region, an agglomeration of numerous ethnicities and cultures in the belief that this approach will be of greater assistance in understanding the language-contact phenomenon.

A fuller and more reliable account of Thailand's language contact and language use is not attainable without adequate appreciation for the history of Thailand's involvement with other nation states. Since the foundation of first Thai states in the 13th century, what is now known as The Kingdom of Thailand was in contact with foreign language users. Chirasombutti (2007) provides a panoramic overview and contends that despite not being the result of colonization but an outgrowth of business/economic, political and religious

contacts, historically Thailand has had a language-contact relationship with foreign and second languages for a millennium (e.g., Khmer, Pāli and Sanskrit languages were in contact with the Thai language during the Sukhothai period (1292-1536); Burmese, Tamil, Lao, Vietnamese, Chinese, Dutch, French, Japanese, Khmer, Malay, Mon, Persian, Arabic and Portuguese languages were in contact with the Thai language during the Ayutthaya period (1350-1781) and the English, French and Russian languages were in contact with the Thai language during the Bangkok period (1782-present). In the 21st century, Thailand's boom has partially manifested itself in constant contact with numerous foreign and second language users. As prominent as has been research on Thailand's language contacts viewed from historical and current perspectives, the scholarly literature on Thailand's current language contacts, unfortunately and somewhat unexpectedly, has not been brought up to date (issue # 1).

Moreover, this study begins with the premise that currently modern nation states, including Thailand, are being reshaped by a new global linguistic order (Fishman, 1998; Kosonen, 2008) that responds to the transnational and trans-cultural characteristics of the new age that has dawned upon us in which circulations, flows, motilities and transfers

are omnipresent with unprecedented reach at local, trans-local, regional, cross-regional and global levels. One salient example of this phenomenon is its impact on Thailand's present ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic landscape. To determine how different languages and their speakers are in a contact relationship without taking into account macro-level trends influencing them is a challenging task. Despite theoretical issues and empirical facts such as these trends and their influences on language use being well-documented in the respective disciplines of language, linguistics, media and communication, the linkage between trends and Thailand's language-contact situations is still an under-explored research area (issue #2).

The present study investigation aims to address the extent of the two aforementioned issues. These issues are that the extant academic literature is not current and thus fails to provide an adequate understanding of language contact and language use in Thailand and that there are no theoretical frameworks whereby language contact in Thailand can be viewed in the light of macro-level (both external and internal) trends. The focus of the present study is thus the concurrent trends influencing language contact and language use in Thailand. It reviews, reflects on and examines the interfaces between globalization, regionalization, nationalism, urbanization, localization and the separatism on language contact.

Now we review and briefly introduce (Thai) LsMs studies. During the decades since the establishments of higher education and research institutes in Thailand and field visits by Eastern and Western scholars, the broadly inclusive field of (Thai) LsMs emerged relatively late in the period between 1990 and 2000. Several different subfields with distinct research interests and field methods were developed. Notably, over the past two or three decades, Thai scholars, together with Western and Eastern scholars, carried out fieldwork in Thailand and commenced to employ anthropological, linguistic, sociological and other scientific means of succinctly summarizing the language ecology of Thailand Smalley (1994) pioneering study, mapping linguistic diversity in Thailand; Bruthiaux (2008) study of language use in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS), ethnolinguistic minority languages e.g., hill tribes by Cohen (1992), Kham Mueang (Northern Thai) by Howard (2007, 2010), vitality of Lao (Northeastern Thai) by Draper (2010) and Draper and Prasertsrib (2013), endangered languages (Premssirat, 2007), sociolinguistics/sociology of language (Morita *et al.*, 2007) and literacy/orthography development in local/indigenous languages/vernaculars (Kosonen, 2005, 2008) with their importance in basic education and minority-language education (Kosonen, 2003). Since the aforementioned fields came into existence, their primary contributions brought to light numerous issues/problems involving LM languages and their respective speech communities and language-user groups e.g., Laotians by Vail (2006), Mon-Khmer by Premssirat (1996) and Vail (2007), Malay by Boonlong (2007) and to IM languages and

their respective speech communities and language-user groups e.g., ethnic Chinese by Morita (2003, 2007) and Lee (2014), asylum seekers/urban refugees by Lee (2011a, b).

In addition to all of this, it should be recognized that commencing in the 2000s the study of the relationship between English, DM, LM and IM language-user groups has become a relatively new research area in Thailand e.g., English in Thailand by Foley (2005), English in Isaan by Draper (2012), English in ASEAN by Kirkpatrick (2012), English in orphanages and bars/tourist sites by Lee (2012, 2013), the influence of English on ethnic Chinese by Lee (2014) in addition to the fact that Thai (both locally- and Western-educated) scholars (Saengboon, 2012; Abhakorn, 2013) produced a significant amount of research on English Language Teaching (ELT) in Thailand.

Thai, along with Eastern and Western scholars, who have contributed to (Thai) LsMs studies over the past three decades may not necessarily agree with the following comments on their important work. Their studies have been based on the premise of not only ethnolinguistic or linguistic-anthropological theories and practices, but also sociolinguistics in attempting to understand the extent of language contact and language use. The present study contends that the existing literature is mostly based on restricted regions with a high concentration of relatively small ethnolinguistic communities who are LM and generational IM language speakers. That is to say, most previous studies have segregated different ethnolinguistic minority groups by focusing on one particular speech community and/or language-user group e.g., Person (2005), only focused on Bisu; Vail (2006), only investigated Laotians; Draper (2010) and Draper and Prasertsrib (2013), only surveyed Isaan. In addition, many of the scholarly works on (Thai) LsMs studies have been carried out within community-based educational settings in spite of the fact that there are now several new perspectives that could advance our understanding suggested by recent literature. These drawbacks have often resulted in scholars having unresolved disputes over the nature of Thailand's language contacts. Extensive across-the-board studies of language contact are thus needed to investigate the role concurrent trends play in (Thai) LsMs studies among DM, LM and IM speakers in their respective speech communities and language-user groups. This study, among others e.g., Kosonen (2008) (surveyed more than one ethnolinguistic minorities); Bruthiaux (2008) (surveyed Thai, Laotian and Vietnamese in GMS), is intended to close this knowledge gap by providing a wider picture of language-contact issues.

This study thus proposes a model, illustrated in Fig. 1 which attempts to advance our understanding. This proposed model is central to our understanding as one way in which the relationships between different trends and overlapping influences on language contact can be illuminated. It contextualizes and integrates across and within our current understanding of globalization, regionalization, nationalism, urbanization, localization, separatism, among other trends

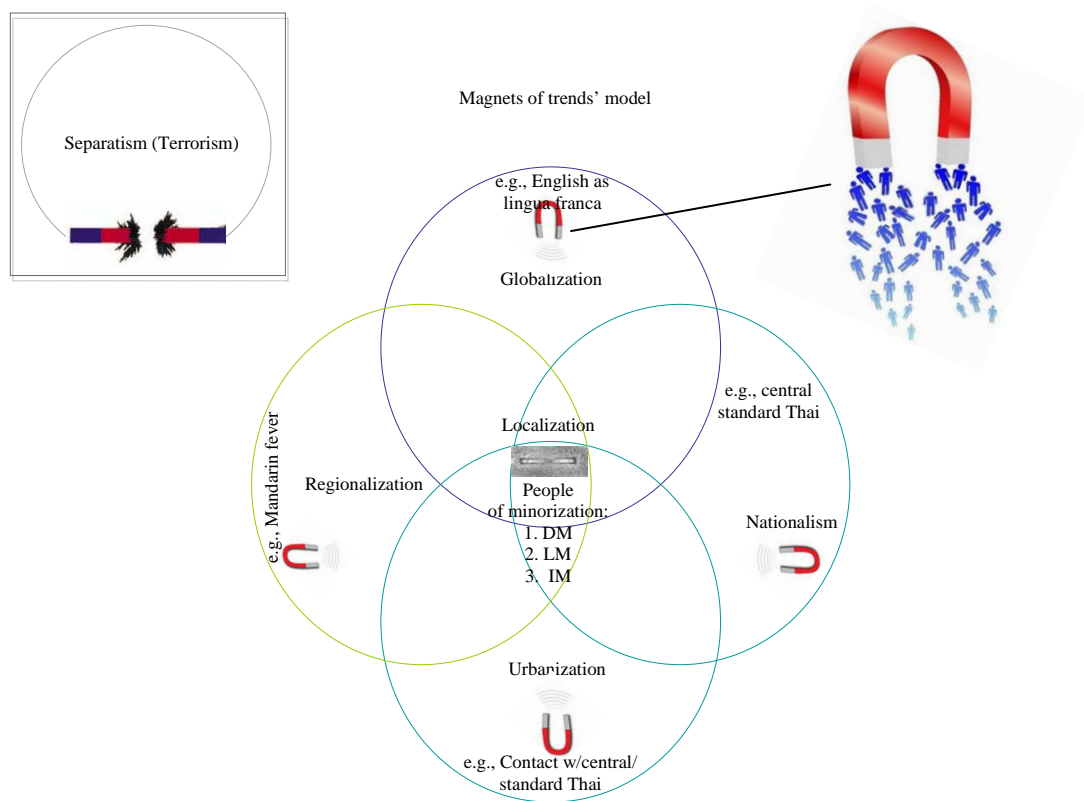


Fig. 1: Trend magnet model. 1: Dominant-language-speaking minority speech communities and language-user groups, 2: Local minority speech communities and language-user groups and 3: Immigrant minority speech communities and language-user groups

while simultaneously paying particular attention to the experiences of minorities, thereby forming the basis for understanding language contact and language use, as opposed to taking only some of the factors into account.

TERMINOLOGIES

This present section defines terminology and target-group references employed in this study. This study uses minorities' (socially excluded [by the mainstream]) experiences to show the interwoven effects of concurrent trends on majority-majority, majority-minority and minority-minority interactions (Winlow and Hall, 2013), for the definition of social exclusion. Between and within minority groups in Thailand, there are first language speakers of minority languages. Over the centuries, many of these minority languages in question have been local/indigenous (ethnic/heritage) languages of Thailand (e.g., Austroasiatic and Hmong-Mien, with several sub-language families) that are spoken by respective speech communities and language-user groups across Mainland Southeast Asia and Southern China

(henceforth LM languages). A more comprehensive review of LM languages in Thailand presented by Premsrirat (2007).

This study refers to these non-national languages spoken across and within Asian or non-Asian states-which stem from abroad but which yet may enjoy official and/or national state language status in countries bordering Thailand-by respective speech communities and language-user groups as immigrant-minority languages, e.g., Arabic, Bengali, Sino-Tibetan (Chinese), Hindi, Tamil and Malay (henceforth IM languages). The concept of IM is borrowed from Extra and Yagmur (2011).

In addition to all of this, I refer to socio-economic minorities who speak dominant language variants (e.g., Standard Thai) as their first language in their respective speech communities and language-user groups as dominant-language-speaking minorities (henceforth DM).

The scholars who are cited below do not necessarily concur in respect to the neologism (Thai) "languages and minorities". For lack of a better term, what might be called (Thai) languages and minorities, as defined in the present study, refers to an all-encompassing field dealing with the

experience of minorities with language contact in Thailand. Conventionally, Thai, Eastern and Western ethnolinguists tend to survey smaller-sized speech communities/ethnolinguistic minorities (referred to as LM language speakers), e.g., Cohen (1992) (hill tribes in Northern Thailand); Draper (2010) and Draper and Prasertsrib (2013) (an Isaan village in Northeastern Thailand) and Premsrirat (1996) (So/Thavung in Thailand) 2007 endangered ethno-linguistic minorities in Thailand. Thai, Eastern and Western sociolinguists have been inclined to investigate generational or newly established immigrant communities or diaspora (defined as IM language users in the current study, e.g., Morita (2003, 2007) and Lee (2014) (ethnic-Chinese communities); Vail (2006) (Laotian immigrants in Thailand); Vail (2007) (Khmers in Thailand)).

Recent studies in linguistic anthropology, ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics and multilingualism have problematized these aforementioned widely accepted terms. Additionally, the emergence of scholarly research into modern minorities (who are neither LM language speakers nor IM language users) who speak dominant language variants (referred to as DM language speakers in the study, e.g., Bangkokian orphans with disabilities learning English, Lee (2012), Standard Thai-Isaan bilingual bargirls' language choice and shift, Lee (2013) in Thailand implies that we need a better term to account for all of the minority typologies (LM, IM and DM speakers) introduced above. Therefore, the term (Thai) "languages and minorities" (henceforth LsMs) in reference to the scholarly study of linguistic anthropology, ethnolinguistics, multilingualism and the sociolinguistics of minority LM and IM languages and their speakers, as well as majority language speakers with lower socio-economic status, is coined since suitable for the current study. This neologism is set forth with all due respect for Thailand-focused LsMs scholars who commonly draw on Western terms and Western methods stemming from the anthropological tradition established by Dell Hymns, the variationist tradition of William Labov, the sociology of language traditions developed by Joshua Fishman and the interactionist sociolinguistic tradition as exemplified by the study of John Gumperz.

Thai, LsMs studies emerged as a distinguishable body of literature (dealing mostly with language contact) in Thai-centric studies in the social sciences, but without taking into account (Thai) applied linguistic literature (dealing mostly with English language teaching/learning). The justification for this neologism stems from that those studying Thailand's language majority (standard Thai speakers) do not deal with language-related issues as frequently as do those who study Thailand's language minorities. This is because the former developed a structure of power supported through various means, including ideologies, whereas, the latter have no recourse but to master dominant discourses. The rules set by Thailand's language majority may not reflect the unique quality of the rich linguistic diversity and cultural values of minorities. By the same token, Thailand's language minorities are conditioned by social models that are created by Thailand's

language majority. Nevertheless, Thailand's linguistic minorities in turn reinforce the creation and social conditioning of dominant discourses.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The methods employed in this study range from an extensive analysis of the literature to questionnaires, interviews (with open-ended discussions and feedback sessions) and observations to supplement one other. Analyses involved both qualitative (e.g., interviews) and quantitative (e.g., surveys) methods. Fieldwork was carried out through the medium of local language varieties by a team of English-Thai bilingual translators to assist the English-Chinese bilingual researcher/author.

Primary data draws from responses to questionnaire surveys and answers to interview questions to obtain data from a representative sample (N = 850; from 20-60 years of age) of the minority population in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region and urban centers across Thailand (Chiang Mai (n = 50), Chiang Rai (n = 25), Khon Kaen (n = 50), Maha Sarakham (n = 25), Ayutthaya (n = 50), Bangkok (n = 500), Rangsit (n = 50), Pattaya (n = 50), Krabi (n = 25) and Hat Yai (n = 25)). The primary data for the study was taken from a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and field-site observations (multiple measuring instruments and multiple rounds of data collection) of 500 residents who live in the city of Bangkok-the state capital of Thailand. It should be acknowledged that the researcher was accompanied by local research assistants to access, survey and interview the sample consisting of 850 participants from 10 cities in the nation state of Thailand. Secondary data is drawn from the scholarly literature on (Thai) LsMs studies.

With approximately 74 languages spoken (Gordon, 2005; Premsrirat, 2007), Thailand presents a fascinating case study for scholars of linguistic diversity, language contact, linguistic anthropology, multilingualism, sociolinguistics and related fields. The Bangkok Metropolitan Region is well known as the Orient's cosmopolitan center and it dominates cultural, economic and political affairs as Thailand's capital, a national treasure house and Thailand's primary gateway to the outside world.

The sub-section provides theoretical underpinnings. More broadly stated, there comes a time when there is a consensus that globalization is advancing and unstoppable. A common assumption is that globalization is largely responsible for a number of cultural, economic, political and societal consequences, including being responsible for endangering and threatening local/indigenous languages. I argue in this study that identifying the factor of globalization alone in language-contact situations is an oversimplification.

In the present research context, "powers" and "magnet" are defined and explained in the following way. As human languages provide a means to communicate, express and negotiate interests, identities, interactions and so forth with the

surrounding world, they are driven by forces, trends and the like. In looking at the century ahead, at least six (or more) significant and concurrent trends-socio-politically powerful trends operating in macro-micro levels-are recognized, explored and reviewed in this study. Figure 1 illustrates six identified trends as magnets, both metaphorically and literally, pulling people out of their ethnic speech communities, language-user groups and diglossic domains, influencing language contact and language use among majority-minorities in Thailand. Some identified trends reported in this study are not covered by Fishman (1998) study entitled “The New Linguistic Order” and Kosonen (2008) study. As compared with Kosonen (2008), the trends of “urbanization” and “separation/insurgency” have been added to the model (Fig. 1).

I will begin this conceptual frame by discussing trends qua sociopolitical power. One of the most important challenges facing modern nation-state governance and at the same time one of the most significant opportunities to seize, is the increased influence of the force of trends, namely, globalization, regionalization, nationalism, urbanization, localization and separatism.

Figure 1 shows trends involving sociopolitical power influence language contact and language use among and across majority-majority, majority-minority and minority-minority interactions in Thailand and elsewhere (Kaku, 2012; Kosonen, 2008; Fishman, 1998).

It is argued that much of the Thai LsMs theorizing is centered around six macro-level trends to which DM, LM and IM speakers respond. This model illustrates the notion of four intersecting circles (which represent four concurrent trends, namely, globalization, regionalization, nationalism and urbanization) and one circle (which represents the trend of separation/insurgency) which does not overlap with the other four indicating its oppositional tendency and thereby demonstrating the complex and multifaceted interrelationships between and within them.

Internal factors/domestic causes (e.g., nationalism) are as salient in understanding language contact and language use in Thailand, as are external factors (e.g., globalization). Thus, at the core of this model is an ovoid shape (which represents the trend of localization) overlapped by all the four circles introduced above, manifesting minority communities, such as DM, LM and IM speakers, being pulled away from (using the analogy of magnets) their ethnic language domains by external forces-at least six identified trends-and their responses to all of these forces. The reason why localization is at the center of this diagram is to indicate that LM languages and their speakers are squeezed between their immediate national or official state language, regionally hegemonic languages spoken by its neighbors such as Chinese (Mandarin) and English which represents global power.

Across and between the intersecting four circles of trends on the right side and the one circle that represents the trend of separation/insurgency on the top-left side, the analogy of two poles for one magnet creating an unbridgeable divide is

depicted, thereby indicating the opposite trend of separation/insurgency to disaggregate the tendencies evinced by the others.

However, it is essential to know that these trends as driving forces pushing DM, LM and IM language users in different directions. There is a greater or lesser degree of difference in regard to the directions in which DM, LM and IM speakers are heading. This model draws upon arguments that these trends are at times joint forces, since there are nine overlapping shapes depicting tendencies that reinforce each other (e.g., nationalism and urbanization jointly promote the use of the official state language), whereas, they are, at other times, mutually incompatible, or more accurately, they are in conflict through mutual resistance. Most importantly, the extent of incompatibility or mutual resistance is the primary root of long-continuing ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic crises (e.g., globalization through English versus nationalistic dominance of the official state language). Present language policy and planning and language-in-education programs and any other top-down and/or grassroots efforts as attempts to integrate all of these incompatible trends, result in effective failure of any one of the six.

After this brief introductory overview of the model, the next section will test the utility of the trend magnet model by examining each of the trends illustrated in the model one-by-one.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Globalization: The first trend embodies a de facto “planetary civilization” (Kaku, 2012) that is, the current era is one of globalization. Based on statistical compilations in Google Scholar, the annual number of scholarly publications studying the topics relating to “globalization” has been steadily increasing for the last 15-20 years and the concept of globalization has become more and more prominent since early in the 21st century. This tendency is believed to be related to “Westernization” or “Americanization” (to act more like Americans across various sectors) (Kubota, 2002). The purpose of this section is to discuss the scholarly literature on language contact in Thailand in the context of globalization.

Presumably three of the most significant features of globalization are as follows. First, the ever-increasing global mobility of transnational migration (from the globally relatively impoverished South to the relatively wealthy North and vice versa, e.g., college dropouts from London employed as tutors teaching English in Bangkok) is evident. Second, the broad spread of English as a Lingua franca (people who speak different languages communicating with each other using English as a common language) is without precedent in world history. Let us take the Russian Federation as an example. Even though most Russians look askance at the “evil deeds” of America, they broadcast Russia Today (commonly known as “RT”) live in English-an international Lingua franca, instead of in the Russian language. Another salient example is France. Although the French government is reluctant to

promote English inside France, France 24 is broadcasted in English rather than in French. Third, a planetary civilization is developing-as witnessed by activities that unify the entire planet (e.g., the cinema, popular music, Haute couture fashion, fusion cuisine and the virtually complete internationalization of major sports competition, notably the Olympics).

The focus in this sub-section will be on the first and second features introduced above. A widely cited study dealing with English as an international language or global Lingua franca is Kachru (1992). In this study, Kachru presents a three-concentric-circle model in presenting his interpretation of English qua Lingua franca. Whether Thailand is located in Kachru's inner, outer or expanding circle, Thai and Western applied linguists, along with linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists, have widely debated the role of English in its inseparable intercalation with the globalization of Thailand (Saengboon, 2012). The relationship between globalization and sociolinguistics has been brought up to date primarily by Blommaert (2010) applying sociolinguistics to the problematics of globalization. Through the discussion of globalization and sociolinguistics in the 2000s we should be well armored for the examination of today's linguistic situation vis-à-vis Fishman's classic, *The New Linguistic Order* in 1988/1999 in addition to a body of germane literature requiring attention. Despite being published a decade ago, Fishman's work is still relevant. The continued spread of English is both a contribution to and a consequence of globalization (Fishman, 1998). As a result, a new term-"globish"-has been coined.

Meanwhile, English or globish has retained its special status in this era of globalization continuing apace in Thailand. In many of the urban centers in Thailand will be found people utilizing the English language in academia/education, business/trade, media, science, technology and other sectors (own fieldwork, 2010-2014); in using the Internet to search for information (e.g., Google and Wikipedia); the exchange of information on social-media sites (e.g., Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter and YouTube) and the downloading of iPhone apps and the impact of American popular culture (e.g., Hollywood movies/blockbuster films; live-streaming for World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE) such as Monday Night Raw, Friday Smack Down, Summer Slam and WrestleMania; sport events such as NBA games and the Super Bowl; dramas (series) and sitcoms such as Friends, Law and Order; Monks and Outsourced; cartoons such as Family Guy and The Simpsons; popular music sung by artists such as Jay-Z, Jennifer Lopez, Katy Perry and Rihanna; children's cartoons such as Barney, Baby Einstein, Jim Jam and Pokoyo).

Yet globalization has done little to promote the *de facto* use of English in Thailand. Neither does the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have effects on the use of English in Thailand, in spite of the fact that English is the official language of ASEAN and Thailand is a core member of this union. It is unlikely that the majority of Thais will start to use English after midnight on 31 December in 2014-the time at which ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is officially

launched. As it turns out, English is only spoken fluently by a small "élite" in the Thai society. Most Thais who are fluent speakers of English belong to small circles of executive administrators in airline, business, educational, journalism, political and other sectors (they are not "hi-so": "hi-so" refers to the élite or Thailand's "Super Rich" with "hi" being an abbreviation for "high" and "so-" being an abbreviation of "society"). Most of these so-called hi-so Thai wealthy are poor in English, as evinced by the recent prime minister of Thailand Yingluck Shinawatra who used "Overcome" as a greeting for Hillary Clinton instead of "Welcome"; her brother Taksin Shinawatra spoke such poor English that a Malay interviewer on Al Jazeera could not understand him (Most of the hi-so Thais are inheritors of wealth amassed long ago and do not bother with English. They tend to travel abroad with an entourage including English speakers). For instance, as Bruthiaux (2008) points out, many cross-national commercial transactions conducted between Thais, foreign tourists and residents of other nation-states by GMS are conducted in English. Nevertheless, this finding does not reflect the actual level of proficiency of the English speakers in question. Perhaps this only means they can use basic English lexis and simple phrases and sentences in conducting trade. Even though some Thai youth may know how to sing Rihanna's "Umbrella"-an American pop song-it is unlikely they understand what the lyrics mean. Moreover, it hardly guarantees that they will receive scores higher than 50 in the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL).

English ability for the general public in Thailand has hardly changed in decades, despite a vast investment by both the public/government and the private sectors in fostering English proficiency. Available statistics point to a crisis in Thai English capacity. Thailand was ranked 116th (n = 163 countries) in TOEFL scores in 2010 and it was ranked 53rd (n = 54 countries) on the Education First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) in 2012. A significant disparity in terms of English proficiency is also occurring in children of school age. Furthermore, research also shows that the English proficiency levels for k-12 and undergraduate students from low-income DM and LM families are below the national average in contradistinction to their rich counterparts (Thumawongsa, 2013).

When English as the global lingua franca entered Thailand, it exerted pressure on LM, non-English speaking IM and DM communities. Concerns across and within minority communities in Thailand are varied, for example: (a) The educational sector (increased use of both Thai and English languages, as a strategy for ASEAN integration threatens the viability of LM languages. Since English is the first foreign language studied as specified in school curricula, the importance of LM languages are at best minimized and ultimately supplanted by English) (Kirkpatrick, 2012), (b) The tourism sector (English, Thailand's unofficial language of the tourism industry, has helped bring in its wake a new Thai entrepreneurship/middle class (the more successful LM bargirls speak English, the more money they earn from

tourists)) (Lee, 2013) and (c) The social-work sector (the learning of English has the potential to assist DM and LM orphans overcome the depredations of poverty (Lee, 2012), to help DM and LM street children sell garlands of flowers to foreign tourists and to help IM asylum seekers and urban refugees resettle in a more receptive country (Lee, 2011a, b).

Overall, looking ahead, the future of the globalized English in Thailand needs to be carefully considered, in particular, whether English is taking over Thailand. To predict the answer to this question, a number of issues need to be kept in mind. First, as noted above, it should come as no surprise that English is and will continue to be used by only a small handful of the members of higher social classes. Let us take Thailand's Higher Education (HE) as an example. In contrast to the German government's concern that their engineering professionals publish too many essays in English and France's resistance to the use of English at universities, the Commission on Higher Education pushes Thai professors to publish in English-medium journals (e.g., ISI, SCOPUS and Scimago-indexed journals) for the scientific development of the nation. Second, as for the majority of the members of the moderate social classes, it seems that they may not see the need to use English, largely because they habitually use exclusively the Thai language across communicative domains. For example, in spite of the fact that more than 80% of Internet content is used in English elsewhere in the world, in Thailand, those who exclusively use Thai may not see the need to use English largely because they habitually use only Thai across communicative domains. For example, in spite of the fact that English is highly dominant and pervasive on the Internet, Thai is exclusively used in Thai-medium websites such as Pantip and Sanook, thereby replacing English-medium websites such as Google and Wikipedia. Third, there is a strong argument not to use English across important communicative domains in Thailand. Thailand's collectivistic culture causes its speakers to bond with one another using the Thai language (For Thailand's communicative cultures in business and public domains (Holmes and Tangtongtavy, 2003). On a larger scale, Thailand has its own set of norms as manifested in group pressures which govern the behavior of Thais such that they act in similar (or nearly identical) manners, as well as to share similar (or the same) projections. With regard to intra-ethnic communication, the use of English is seen as a disruption of Thais' pragmatics. As a consequence, it will result in the disruption of harmonious social relationships. Thais, like other nation states grounded in a collectivistic ethos (e.g., Koreans and Japanese), use their Thai language (particularly titles and pronouns in addressing others) for the sake of smoother relationships (own fieldwork, 2010-2014). They do not use English unless it is absolutely necessary for the purposes of inter-ethnic communication between a Thai and a non-Thai-speaking foreigner. Fourth, yet as English is encouraged and widely studied as Thailand prepares itself to enter the AEC, it may become even more widely disliked or resisted, due largely to the fact that the massive number of members of the moderate social classes in Thailand remains

highly resistant to English. In conclusion, the future of globalized English in Thailand appears to be at best very limited.

Regionalization: Together with globalization, Thailand at present is also significantly influenced by the trend of regionalization (Kosonen, 2008). Regionally hegemonic IM languages, particularly Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese and Korean, among others, are being paid increasing attention in business/economic, diplomatic, educational, tourism and other sectors in Thailand (own fieldwork, 2010-2014; Kosonen, 2008). The learning of IM languages, particularly Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese and Korean, are seen as beneficial for Thais to search for better-paying jobs as there are increasingly more business cooperation between Thailand's business sector and influential East Asian and Southeast Asian economies. Today, in GMS, for example, residents become increasingly fluent in Chinese (Mandarin) (Bruthiaux, 2008).

Therefore, the future in Thailand of Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese and Korean languages, respectively, needs thorough consideration. Although there have been students of these East Asian languages throughout the modern history of Thailand (Chirasombutti, 2007), some of these languages have only recently emerged as small-community languages (e.g., Mandarin in Bangkok's Yaowarat Road; Japanese in Bangkok's Thong Lo and Nana), but also used and learned on a wide scale in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (e.g., Japanese and Korean are good examples of non-Southeast Asian languages studied by thousands of Bangkokians) largely in view of the intensified processes of transnational migration (FDI from the nation states of Japan and South Korea) and the increased job opportunities in Japanese and Korean firms and multinational corporations.

The wide use of LG LED TV, Samsung Galaxy Tablet and Notebooks, along with other mobile devices, have also been the main factors that contribute to the Korean (language) fever-the increasing importance and use of the language-in Thailand (own fieldwork, 2010-2014). ("Korean fever" or "Korean soft power" is the subject of papers of numerous Thai academics and doctoral students recently). The popularity of K-pop boys bands (e.g., Super Junior), girls bands (e.g., Girls' Generation) and Korean films has triggered the Korean (language) fever among youth groups in Thailand. By contrast, there has been a long-held belief in Thailand that it is well to study the Japanese language, regardless of that fact there seems to be little immediate prospect of material reward.

Moreover, even though Thailand has a century-long history of receiving immigrants from Mainland China (particularly, Yunnan, Southeast China and East-Coastal China), India and Malaysia, IM languages, e.g., Hindi and Malay are not as influential as Chinese (Mandarin), because its speakers are the fastest growing IM language users in Thailand. Further, Chinese (Mandarin), as an IM language, has been extending its influence to LM speech communities and language-user groups in Thailand. This has become evident in

some Mandarin-medium primary and middle schools (Grades 1-9) in which students are not limited to ethnic Chinese-Thai but come from many of the ethno-linguistic backgrounds. An important difference concerning the three IM languages under consideration is that the Mandarin (language) fever, is believed by the majority of Thais (own fieldwork, 2010-2014), to continue to become more widespread. However, there is no promise that Japanese (language) and Korean (language) fever will continue apace. From this overview, it can be concluded that Chinese (Mandarin) is the most widely used and studied regional (with a base in Asia) IM language in present day Thailand.

Nationalism: Nearly all scholarly accounts of the language-contact literature and the language-use literature have pinpointed the implementation of nationalism in Thailand as a major component in the teaching of language. Before there was a Siamese nation state, there was a variety of LM languages spread throughout the length and breadth of present-day Thailand and beyond and many had prehistoric linguistic relationships to the Tai-Kadai language family and its putative linguistic affiliations (Lee, 2011c). Due to their highly multi-ethnic demographics, many LM languages still coexist within the region today (e.g., the Mon language is used alongside the Standard Thai in Bangkok's outskirts at Pathum Thani by ethnic Mons) but only one of them-Standard Thai-possesses prestige and power.

Nationalism in Thailand first came to the fore during the reign of King Rama VI (r. 1910-1925). Nationalism applies to the planning and the implementation of language policies and language-in-education policies that promotes one language (monolingualism [and monoculture] in the form of a national Lingua franca for one nation (Spolsky, 2008). This idealistic conception entails that a nation state is defined and sustained by all its nationals speaking (and reading and writing) the same language.

Thus, Thailand's future in respect to its official state language-Standard Thai-needs to be taken into consideration. In the last century, there have been many initiatives by the Thai government sector to constantly emphasize the homogeneity and national identity of the peoples of Thailand. The official state language, thus, is widely spoken across numerous communicative domains from government, education, market and particularly entertainment venues such as Major Cineplex (movie theaters/cinemas), that is, all new movies from Hollywood are dubbed (sound surrounding) into Standard Thai. As a result, the teaching/learning and uses of LM languages are commonly seen by language policy makers as obstacles to integration into the mainstream Standard Thai-speaking civil society.

Much of the justification for having a national Lingua franca-Standard Thai-stems from Thailand's need to create a national language for inter-ethnic communication (and for national identity and unity) and in coping with LM groups' insurgency (refer to the sub-section on localization/indigenization and terrorism). Consider the case of Thailand, where approximately 70 languages are spoken

across 76 provinces. A local Thai variant, for instance, Southern Thai, cannot be appropriately used in traveling from Phi-Phi Island in Southern Thailand to Ayutthaya in Central Thailand in view of differences in accents, consonants, lexis, tones and other linguistic-and-communicative registers. Standard Thai is typically the first language that two LM Thai variant speakers (e.g., one speaks Kham Mueang (Northern Thai) and the other speaks Lao (Northeastern Thai)) attempt upon meeting.

In more recent years it has become a commonplace that the theme of LM languages subordination to the dominant Standard Thai is not uncommon in public domains (e.g., government, education and mass media) of Thailand. As such, the increasing role of Standard Thai has been compounding its enormous influence on both LM and IM speech communities and language-user groups (despite that millions of people in Thailand are not native speakers of Standard Thai and the literacy rates in Standard Thai among LM speech communities, for instance, in Northern Thailand, are lower than native Standard Thai speakers in Central Thailand (Kosonen, 2008).

In general, under the enormous pressure to exclusively use the official state language across communicative domains, both LM and IM languages and their speakers in Thailand suffer from constant discrimination and many underwent language shift. Draper (2010), in a study of Lao (Northeastern Thai) spoken in an Isaan village in contact with Standard Thai, gives an example of the extensive shift away from an LM language toward the official state language (Draper and Prasertsrib, 2013). In addition, among ethnic Chinese (Chinese-Thai) communities across Thailand, a number of IM Chinese dialects (e.g., Teochew) continues to serve the needs of intra-ethnic communication as small town languages for descendants of early Chinese resettlement. However, under the recent nationalist policy promoting the official state language, Morita (2003, 2007) and Lee (2014) show that ethnic Chinese underwent language shift away from their IM ethnic dialects in favor of Thai.

Another example is ethnic Malay (or Malay Muslim) communities in Bangkok. On a typical school day, the medium of instruction in a (k-12) public school is Standard Thai in teaching ethnic Malay children (data gathered particularly from those who live by canals in Hua Mak subdistrict, Bang Kapi district). Similarly, television broadcasts to the same children of cartoons, television series and sitcoms are in Standard Thai (e.g., Channel 3). Yet they are also bombarded by advertisements, using Standard Thai, during prime-time commercial breaks. However, it is essential to know that they at least typically study the Quran in Arabic for approximately 1-2 h per day after the official school day. Apart from the Quran time, ethnic Malay families in Bangkok have little time left to converse in LM ethnic language with their family as they typically watch Standard Thai broadcasted television channels until late into the evening. Few would claim that the religious (faithful) ethnic Malay families in Bangkok maintain the Malay language as a living language, not a heritage language.

It must be acknowledged that language proficiency is a strong indicator for language maintenance and shift as Joshua Fishman has argued for three decades (Fishman, 1991, 2001) and a decline in language proficiency among younger generations means the discontinuation of intergenerational transmission of the LM language. If some Malay Muslim children in Bangkok have little time to practice speaking their LM language and evidently demonstrate a low proficiency level in their LM language, this implies a danger of a high extent of language shift away from the LM language toward the habitual use of Standard Thai. As one's home is the last domain for LM language maintenance, the invasion of Standard Thai-broadcasting mass media inevitably results in the impossibility of maintenance or "reverse language shift" (For a recent update of the relation between home domain and language maintenance (Hifearnain, 2013).

In a sharp contrast, the use of Standard Thai as the *de facto* language and standard of literacy in public domains has become a major obstacle for many LM language communities (most of them in provincial Thailand and some in the capital) to access education and achieve social success (Kosonen, 2008). A recent example is Ramkhamhaeng University whose Southern Thai and Malay-speaking ethnic Malay students cannot cope with Standard Thai medium courses and are blamed for making errors in Thai writing (own fieldwork, 2010-2014).

Despite these nationalistic linguistics campaigns, efforts to consider the inclusion of LM languages in language policy, bilingual education and other public sectors have been encouraged in recent years. As of 2006, a committee to recommend a more comprehensive national language policy in Thailand was established and a follow-up conference with the theme of "National Language Policy: Language Diversity for National Unity" was held in 2008 by The Royal Institute of Thailand (2008). Perhaps the most significant practice of local-standard bilingual education was led by Suwilai Premasirat, an ethno-linguist/professor affiliated with the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia at Mahidol University, to implement Pattani Malay-Thai bilingual schools in three southern provinces of Thailand (It should also be noted that some non-governmental organizations run informal bilingual schools across Thailand). Not surprisingly, a good command in the use of Standard Thai as the national *de facto* Lingua franca is needed for expatriates and FDI's (Cohen, 1987; own fieldwork, 2010-2014). Some FDI's (particularly those from Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan) have engaged in formal study in Thai language schools but others simply practice Standard Thai with their employees or local spouses or girlfriends. Among expatriates, American retirees and mafia members belonging to international organized crime group tend to rely on bargirls as English-Thai translators except for some Nigerian drug dealers and some Russian human traffickers (Martin, 2005; own fieldwork, 2010-2014). With regard to fluency in Standard Thai among expatriates and FDI's in Thailand, Filipino migrants are at the level of lowest proficiency in

Standard Thai in comparison to GMS migrants from Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar (own fieldwork, 2010-2014). This disparity is presumably due to the differing demands of standard Thai and the opportunities to use their respective LM languages in workplaces. Burmese construction site workers and Laotian restaurant waitresses are required to communicate in Standard Thai. However, to communicate in Standard Thai may not seem to be required for some Filipino domestic helpers and Filipino English teachers.

Urbanization: About a century ago, 86% of the world population still lived in rural areas. Nonetheless, currently approximately 50% live in rural areas and the other 50% live in urban areas. By 2025, it is estimated that over 60% of the world's population will live in urban areas and suburbs or smaller exurban communities (Sanabria, 2004). In Thailand, as in most nation states across mainland South-East Asia, urbanization commenced at the end of World War II and the dawn of industrialization, a period in which massive populations moved from rural Thailand to the national capital and other major cities throughout the Kingdom (e.g., Chiang Mai in Northern Thailand and Khon Kaen in Northeastern Thailand).

Many of the people one may see working on the streets of Bangkok (e.g., street food vendors/cooked-food stalls, motor tricycle or tuk-tuk taxi drivers, shop sellers, hotel escorts, waitresses in karaoke restaurants, maids/domestic helpers and bargirls/prostitutes in Soi Cowboy) are very probably not native Bangkokians. They are more likely peasants or from small towns, adults who are LM language speakers and have moved from their rural environs to the capital in a search for better education and better job opportunities (Burdett, 2012). It is likely that they abandoned their previous peasant lifestyles to become middleclass urban dwellers (Lee, 2013). When one encounters such people on the streets of Bangkok, they frequently tell one about their home or "my country", by which they mean their Issan-speaking Northeastern Thailand (e.g., Udon Thani) or Kham Mueang-speaking Northern Thailand (e.g., Chiang Rai). In regards to challenges, the ongoing increase in urbanization is placing new demands on those internally cross-province migrants who are not native speakers of the national Lingua franca (Standard Thai). Many of the LM language speakers progressively shift away from the habitual use of their ethnic languages toward the exclusive use of the Standard Thai after moving to the capital (Kosonen, 2008). However, interestingly, the massive influx of Isaan-speaking bar girls from Thailand's Northeast have converted Pattaya, a seaside city in Chonburi, Central Thailand, into "Little Isaan" whereby Isaan or Northeastern Thai is a widely spoken language alongside English and the official state language (Lee, 2013).

In contrast to the national capital, Bangkok, urbanization and urban sprawl are also occurring in urban centers across Thailand. Within and across major cities in Thailand, some LM languages have larger numbers of speakers than users of the official state language. The use of distinct LM varieties is

one of the clearest features distinguishing 31 cities in Thailand. The city of Chiang Rai in Northern Thailand, for instance, has long been considered a stronghold of traditional Northern Thai culture and maintenance of Kham Mueang or the Northern Thai variant. Likewise, Isaan or Northeastern Thai (Lao) is the most widely spoken variant in the city of Khon Kaen, a heartland for ethnic Lao speakers in Northeastern Thailand. Moreover, there is a close connection between Southern-Thai speakers and the city of Hat Yai in the province of Songkhla, Southern Thailand.

For most of the past millennium and throughout Thailand's history, residents stemming from LM and IM background lived in smaller communities that are fairly distinct from their neighbors who come from disparate ethno-linguistic backgrounds. Recently, however, the ever-increasing global mobility has combined with the forces of nationalism and urbanization and caused a substantial number of LM and generational IM languages as spoken by conventionally established LM ethno-linguistic communities and generational IM speakers, respectively, to become endangered in the course of the invasion of the more powerful language varieties. Obviously concomitant to these conditions, language attrition, language shift, language endangerment and language loss are occurring. For example, both Mon-Khmer and Malay as centuries-long LM languages are severely endangered and in some cases (particularly Mon-Khmer) extinct as a result of the shrinking domains of LM language use (Boonlong, 2007; Vail, 2007).

By contrast, globalization in conjunction with urbanization has also mobilized the emergence of numerous IM language communities in formerly homogeneous neighborhoods (Yagmur and Ehala, 2011). Bangkok Metropolis has been breaking up into smaller communities and language user groups by IM ethnic groups (and income levels). Some obvious examples of this phenomenon are the settlement of IM an ethnic-Chinese community in Bangkok's Chinatown (Yaowarat). As early as in the middle 19th century, Bangkok's commercial districts were taken over by a large number of IM ethnic-Chinese speakers who had migrated from the east coast of China (particularly, Teochew-speaking Shantou) and Yunnan province of China. The Hindi, Punjabi and Tamil-speaking IM ethnic Indian community in Pahurat, "Little India" and IM ethnic Malay (Arabic, Malay and Southern-Thai-speaking) community in Hua Mak, Bang Kapi, are two other examples.

It should be noted that the settlement of Bengalis (migrants from Bangladesh to Thailand) is scattered nearly all over Thailand. Differing from Bangkok's Chinatown (Yaowarat) as a stronghold for ethnic-Chinese IM community and Bangkok's Pahurat as a heartland for the ethnic-Indian IM community, Bengali migrants' mode of settlement is not concentrated in Bangkok. However, the maintenance of the IM language of Bengali relies heavily on the network of its speakers who work as translators in Bangkok Hospitals (own fieldwork, 2010-2014), among others.

LM speakers-rural migrants moving from smaller villages or towns to the nation's capital or other modern centers-likely live close to family members, relatives and friends who provide support. By the same token, they live within their IM communities or live with people who share similar cultural and ethnic backgrounds. However, they stay in their own communities and do not have contact with others who have differing backgrounds. Consequently, some of the LM and IM languages become widely spoken town languages in the cities of Thailand.

Localization: This sub-section is intended to contextualize the localization of languages in Thailand which does not constitute a definitive account but a modest effort to provide a brief description. Localization is a self-expression and at the same time, a response to the aforementioned macro-level sociopolitical forces. In regard to the joint forces of globalization and localization (in some cases, globalization, urbanization and localization) English has not only become globalized but also indigenized by being adapted to new communicative habits and subjected to local norms. Both historically and currently it is not easily grasped how creative were the locals in Thailand using their efforts to localize/code-mixing/code-alternating a foreign or a second language such as English. By and large, English has had more lexical influences on Thai than vice versa.

On the one hand, English is becoming localized orally as spoken by non-natives as a foreign language in Thailand. By listening to a Thai businessman negotiating with an Indonesian in Thai-accented English in the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, one will hear the discrepancy of English in comparison to what one hears in Hollywood films and BBC World Service-international Standard English varieties. The language is abrupt, forceful and stripped-down without a proper syntax (own fieldwork, 2010-2014).

On the other hand, English is also becoming localized in digital and written forms as utilized by non-natives of the English language in Thailand. This validity is legitimized by more English-Thai code mixing practices appearing in the mass media of Thailand in lieu of using the Thai lexis or phrases in a non-Thai or foreign media sector. According to various research studies, the mixing of English and Thai has been found in Thai daily newspapers (Samingkaew, 2001), magazines (Janhom, 2012), television programs, online chat rooms (Yiamkamnuan, 2010), pop music lyrics (Likhithongsathorn and Sappapan, 2013) and other types of mass media. Meanwhile, in the composition of emails and messages on Facebook and Line using English by some Thais, the texts are not readable as their meanings are obscured by word-to-word (Thai-English) translation, differing styles of emphases, the integration of Thai ending particles and the adoption of Thai politeness strategies (own fieldwork, 2010-2014).

The wide use of the English lexis (in Thai mass media and discursive practices of language and literacy) has reached a

potential crisis stage. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, sociolinguists had begun to notice that a replacement was occurring in daily Thai lexicon choices by adopting English words such as “fan” and “party.” Gradually, English replaced Thai words: As in mentioning one’s husband “sabi,” wife “palaya,” boyfriend and girlfriend, Thais no longer employ Thai words but utilize the localized/indigenized English word “fan” (own fieldwork, 2010-2014). The reason for this lies in that English permits sub-variations (e.g., from Chinglish in Mainland China to Singlish in Singapore and from Estglish in Estonia to Thiglish in Thailand). The main words look similar morphologically, but newly coined or mixed English words by speakers of non-English speaking states change the lexicon, along with idiosyncratic grammar and syntax. In the contemporary Thai pragmatics, one’s “fan” can mean his (singular) wife and/or girlfriend, her husband and/or boyfriend, or his (plural) wives and/or girlfriends, or her husbands and/or boyfriends. For the third gender, the expression of “fan” can mean multiple different partners. Thus, the utilization of “fan” obscures the meaning, inasmuch as that no one can tell if he is one’s husband (a legal relationship) or a mere boyfriend.

The trend of localization is in relation to the insurgency of local language. In recent years there has been an ethnic resurgence to express regional cultures and identities in Thailand (Jory, 2000). On the one hand, the trends of globalization, nationalism and urbanization mean increased pressure to master dominant languages and literacies particularly in English and Standard Thai on the part of LM and IM language speakers. On the other hand, the promotion of LM and IM languages other than the official state language to positions of administrative and educational prominence is one expression of localization (Kosonen, 2008). Since the last century until recently, there have been many initiatives of insurgencies among LM and generational IM speech communities in Thailand, except, for example, Khmer due largely to anti-Khmer sentiments (Vail, 2007). These are challenges and opportunities faced by the Thai government today. I will only emphasize in this sub-section the insurgency of a number of LM and IM groups in two subsections: Ethnic Laotians and ethnic Chinese are discussed in the current subsection (localization). Ethnic Malay will be explored in the next subsection (separation/terrorism).

Country song singers, stemming from LM Isaan speakers, an ethnic Lao stronghold that makes up one-third of Thailand’s population, broadcasted their Isaan or Northeastern Thai folklore music by television programs such as Sawadee channels and other means of distribution (own fieldwork, 2010-2014). Likewise, Chinese cultural expression toward affirmation of Chinese heritage has not only been accepted by the mainstream Thai society (e.g., cashiers wear *Chi-Pao/Cheongsam* in Big C and other grocery stores during Chinese Lunar New Year celebration week), but also greatly celebrated in the pop culture of Thailand see a fuller discussion in Jory (2000). Inasmuch as increasingly more and more reappearances of Sino-Thai identity in pop media (e.g., imported Chinese TV shows from Taiwan such as

Bao Qingtian and Thai soap opera on Channel 3 depicting the affluent lives of Sino-Thai business families), the ethnic Chinese and their IM language have far-reaching effects more than the ethnic Laotians and their LM language (Northeastern Thai variant).

In combination with the aforementioned state-of-the-art review of contemporary top-down and in-group initiatives to encourage LM and IM languages to thrive in mass media and public domains, it is thus important to consider, as a whole, whether LM and generational IM languages are dying or thriving in the presence and the future of Thailand. For a positive view concerning the maintenance and the revitalization of LM language and literacy in Thailand as in (Kosonen, 2008), *Literacy in Local Languages in Thailand: Language Maintenance in a Globalized World*.

However, this view, stemming from my literature review and my own fieldwork (2010-2014), is not optimized. The smaller-sized and the smallest LM and IM languages in Thailand are undergoing and will continue to undergo language shift toward the immediate contact languages such as the official state language of Standard Thai (except in some isolated speech communities, e.g., the Phi Thong Luang (Mlabli) jungle tribe and the Sakai jungle tribe in Southern Thailand). A local slogan in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand, is a salient example of the language shift phenomenon: Father speaks Muang, Mother speaks Muang: Why can’t the child speak Muang well? Over the next three to five or more generations may result in: (1) The decline of LM and IM language proficiencies in each younger generation (slippage of 20-90% or more of lexis, syntaxes, semantics, pragmatics and so forth), (2) A hesitance (or an ill-practice) to intergenerational LM (and IM) language transmission and (3) Language attitudes stemming from both majority and minority groups associating LM languages with backwardness, impoverishment, primitiveness and so forth. These are three of the many contextualized factors that cause language shift to Standard Thai and language death/loss of LM (and IM) language varieties e.g., Draper (2010) and Draper and Prasertsrib (2013), documenting the shift away from Isaan toward Standard Thai among Isaan villagers; Morita (2003, 2007) and Lee (2014) findings reveal the shift away from ethnic Chinese dialects toward Standard Thai among ethnic Chinese). Notwithstanding some public rhetoric, government enterprises, NGOs and some institutes (e.g., SIL International and UNESCO) in recent years that seem to support the maintenance of LM and IM languages, their efforts have not received a high degree of official support. While acknowledging the good intentions of much of the official state policies on LM (and IM) languages, the state, in the view of the researcher, is still unclear about its policy and implementation on the maintenance and revitalization efforts of LM (and IM) languages. Also, it is unlikely that home, community/village, education and other public communicative domains conjointly suffice to produce competent LM (and IM) speakers in the younger generations.

Separatism (terrorism): Insurgency/separatist movement is not an optimal reaction to the concurrent tendencies introduced above but an opposite one. In one sense, the phenomenon of terrorism is a reaction against the evolution of a planetary civilization (i.e., globalization). Terrorism is regarded as a counter-balance development to against the planetary civilization and other joined forces (Kaku, 2012). As modern societies such as Thailand are heading toward a more globalized, regionalized, nationalized and urbanized civilization, terrorists intend to disaggregate themselves from the aforementioned trends by ensuring that their ethnicity, language, culture and so forth are intact. In Fig. 1, a diagrammatical view of the trend of terrorism in relation to other concurrent trends, an unbridgeable divide (the use of the analogy of two poles of one magnet) is provided.

Thailand's southernmost provinces of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat, where the majority of inhabitants are Malay-Muslims (referred to as LM speakers), have been plagued by a shadowy Islamic insurgency that has been characterized as terrorism and has claimed more than 4,000 lives in Thailand's worst ethnic separatist movement in decades (Beech, 2010; Pongsudhirak, 2007). Many of those killed are Thai government officers and state workers such as state school teachers, policemen, army, navy and marine personnel. A school teacher, for example, Athikhom, a 34-year-old physical education teacher, was shot dead in a drive-by shooting as he rode a motor bike from school heading home on Monday, August 19th, 2013 (Bangkok Post, 2013).

The aims of the separatist movement in Thailand's southernmost border provinces range from greater administrative autonomy to outright separatism (Pongsudhirak, 2007). Despite the state efforts to integrate Malay-Muslim insurgents into the wider Thai society, the Malay-Muslims of Thailand's southern periphery have reclaimed their ethno-nationalist and ethno-linguistic identity in response to forced ethno-national, religious and linguistic assimilation policy, that is, a separatism to revolt against Thai-speaking and Thai-ruling state and a return to their Malay-speaking and Malay-Muslim-ruling Patani state (Pongsudhirak, 2007).

CONCLUSION

The current study concludes with a tentative analysis, predicts future directions and reports the challenging tasks for future researchers who attempt to develop fuller and more reliable accounts of Thailand's language contact and language use. Nonetheless, a comprehensive review and reflection on the issues and facts is nearly impossible. Indubitably, the macro forces influencing Thailand's language contact are complex and clearly, there are a number of daunting tasks for researchers focused on Thailand's language contact and language use. Some limitations in this study are unavoidable and acknowledged herein. The researcher has failed to take into account the detailed ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic

profiles of participants from differing urban sites of Thailand. For instance, the discursive practices of multi-linguality (the use of two or more languages), multi-modality (mode-switching among listening, speaking, reading and writing) (Wei, 2011) and multi-competence (Cook, 1991, 2007) are not foci of the present study. Further, notwithstanding that the magnet of trend model (Fig. 1) would form a meaningful starting base for research, education and policy-planning in Thailand's DM, LM and IM language-user groups, many critique this model as not being finely-tuned to the point that it suffices as a solid structure or as an analytical tool to assess a language contact situation nor does it offer sound advice to language activists from the top-down level and grassroots. Moreover, what constitutes languages and minorities in the context of Thailand remains somewhat ill-defined. Additionally, the present study of language and minorities across urban centers in Thailand is not wholly appropriate as a basis to make inferences for rural Thailand. Also, this Thailand-based research inquiry may not influence mainstream sociolinguistic theory and practice, inasmuch as its scope is narrow since merely pertaining to Thailand's language contact and language use. Finally, many predictions of the future for the English, LM and IM languages are made hesitantly, as these matters are difficult to predict with any certainty.

The story of Thailand's language contact and language use is a work in progress. As transnational and trans-border migration is a well-known phenomenon in Thailand, numerous significant challenges have been met over the past 30 years, despite other challenges being unsolved. Yet more and more challenges are increasingly becoming concerns to ethnolinguists, sociolinguists and future researchers. There are constantly shifting focuses on immigrants and new foreign groups joining the language-contact zone of Thailand, ranging from diverse international students and foreign teachers who affiliate with higher education institutes in Thailand (Mann, 2012) to Western retirees in Thailand reflecting the growth of Thailand's medical tourism industry (Huguet and Chamrathirong, 2011). It is hoped that future researchers not only analyze and document the language-contact phenomenon in Thailand, but also provide research-based supports for the maintenance and the revitalization of the country's rich linguistic diversity.

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